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ABSTRACT

For more than three decades, the courts have attempted to resolve the effects of desegregation on educational quality and educational access. This report reviews a recent court ruling on the 26-year-old desegregation case, Mapp versus Board of Education, in relation to emerging demographic patterns in the Chattanooga (Tennessee) Public Schools that seem to counteract the effectiveness of earlier desegregation plans. Information was drawn from interviews with the plaintiff and the attorney for the defendant, and from a comparative study of the socioeconomic backgrounds, educational aspirations, and educational experiences of 111 students in two predominately white suburban high schools with 137 students in two predominately black urban high schools in Chattanooga. The major conclusion is that urban, black students with low socioeconomic backgrounds had higher educational aspirations than suburban, white students who had higher socioeconomic backgrounds. Statistical data are included on two tables. The appendices comprise the transcript of an interview with James Mapp, plaintiff in Mapp versus Board of Education, and a summary of an interview with Raymond B. Witt, Jr., the attorney who represented the Chattanooga Public School System in the case. A list of 111 references is appended. (FMW)

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THE FINAL ERA OF A 26-YEAR-OLD CASE: EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS OR EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY?

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ABSTRACT

For more than three decades, the courts have attempted to balance the desegregation scales of excellence and equity. In an era of educational excellence, some desegregation cases are still pending. While educational reforms focus on excellence, the issue of equity prevails.

The author reviews a recent court's ruling of a 26-year-old desegregation case in relationship to emergent demographic patterns that seem to counteract against earlier desegregation plans. In light of the court's decision to terminate the case, plaintiff alleged that disproportionate equity exist between urban/suburban schools. Why were the suburban students excluded from the desegregation plans to balance education?

The undertakings of this study included interviews with the plaintiff (Mapp) and the attorney for the defendant (Board of Education). A comparative study of socioeconomical, educational, and aspirational differences between urban/suburban students was conducted. Statistical results showed significant differences between the two school groups. The study, as well as the court's ruling and plaintiff's concerns, has significant implications for balancing excellence and equity for urban education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In preparation of this study, the author wishes to express appreciation to the plaintiff, Mr. James R. Mapp, and the attorney defendant for the Chattanooga Board of Education, Attorney Raymond B. Witt, Jr., for sharing their enduring strength and experiences of the 26-year-old desegregation case.

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INTRODUCTION

It has taken more than three decades to fully understand and accept what the U. S. Supreme Court attempted to articulate when it handed down its 1954 and 1955 school desegregation rulings in Brown versus Board of Education (346, U. S., 483, 1954; 349, U. S., 294, 1955). It is obviously clear now that this landmark decision to integrate all public schools made three significant contributions: (1) reshaped political attitudes needed to direct the course for social change; (2) foreshadowed educational and socioeconomical opportunities for minorities to share in American dreams; and (3) tested the political strengths and moral values of the Constitution.

Now 34 years later after the landmark decision, the desegregation undertakings continue to unfold into historical phases. Within these historical frameworks are a number of chained events that have reshaped the social

structure in America and provided some links for understanding and resolving present and present and future social and educational problems. However, there remain some historical and social gaps that are unwritten and unresolved. In an era where education excellence is the dominant school theme, some school desegregation litigations are still pending. According to Cardenas & First (1985), 63 percent of the school children in America are still attending predominantely minority schools. Whether or not the emphasis on quality education negates equality education can be partially answered when examining some interrelated sociocultural and educational similarities and differences across three types of communities: suburban, urban, and rural.

HAS UNEQUAL SCHOOLING PERSISTED OVER THREE DECADES?

Education has always been highly valued in America. It has been frequently cited as a predictor of high socioeconomic attainments. A number of studies continue to report consistent findings that there is a positive relationship between education levels and occupation and income levels (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Treiman & Terrell, 1975; Sewell & Hauser, 1975, and Featherman & Hauser, 1976). The general assumption tends to be high education attainments lead to better high-paying job opportunities. In other words, if one has high educational gains, he/she can anticipate socioeconomical gains.

Yet, findings from another body of research studies tend to refute the assumptions made with this upward mobility path model. These studies have consistently found education outcome differences between racial and ethnic groups. The assertion is race strongly influences educational outcomes that subsequently reflect with socioeconomical differences (Astin, 1975; Portes & Wilson, 1976; Wilson, 1980; Oliver & Glick, 1982). Elaborating on these persistent differences, inequality studies have suggested that education systems perpetuate these differences between races. That is, a greater proportion of minorities are frequently tracked into special education programs, low-ability group programs, and vocational programs than white students (Rist, 1970; Alexander, et al., 1978; Kerckhoff, 1985). Still other studies have concluded that socioeconomical background, not race, accounts for educational outcome differences between various groups. In essence, SES levels of one's family will determine the mobility path (Katz, 1967; Jencks, et al. 1972; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Rehberg & Rosenthal, 1978; Boudon, 1979; and Collins, 1979).

For more than three decades, the courts have attempted to balance the scales in public education for all Americans. However, since the inception of the school desegregation ruling in 1954, the process has been slow and difficult. Parenthetically, the results have been futile and unsatisfactory. Thus far, it has been difficult for public

schools to produce a balanced formula of "excellence and equity" or "quality and equality" in education.

REVIEW OF DESEGREGATION LITERATURE

The literature on school desegregation is replete with a number of historical events and problems that followed the landmark decisions. Historical patterns show the problems have generally resulted from efforts to racially balance public schools "with all deliberate speed" (Clark, 1969; McCord, 1969; U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1981). Such racial balance efforts have periodically resulted in historical discrepancies as to whether or not quality and equality education for blacks has been attained.

With earlier school desegregation models, the literature clearly points out that equality education was defined in terms of mixing the races in the same school environment. Racial balanced assumptions were primarily layered with sociopsychological and sociocultural implications. To rectify the blacks' sociopsychological deficiencies imposed on them by their social environment, desegregation was to elevate blacks' self-esteem, confidence, and aspirations. According to social interaction theory, the sociocultural deficiencies would be eliminated as disadvantaged blacks socialized with middle-class whites. In addition, the social benefits for both races would be interracial harmony as social attitudes, beliefs, and values improve (Clark, 1955; Pettigrew, 1971;

Borgatta, 1965; Duncan, 1967; Gordon, 1978; Jacques et al., 1977).

Similar conclusions have been drawn from other sociocultural findings. According to Riessman (1963), Lewis (1966), and Mosteller & Moynihan (1972), low-income minority groups do not adopt middle-class values and attitudes, because they have less contact with the middle-class groups in school.

The conceptualization that racial balanced schools results in higher achievement for blacks has been debated throughout the desegregation eras. After the Brown decision, hardly any empirical data were collected on blacks attending white schools. Although it was asserted that desegregation would increase blacks' achievement scores, empirical studies were not conducted. On the other hand, what is worth observing is two years after the court's second ruling (1955) to desegregate "with all deliberate speed," public education entered the Sputnik era that caused public schools to shift their attention from equality to excellence and quality in education.

When Sputnik was launched by the Russians in 1957, the event signaled that American education was inadequately preparing students to excel in math, science, and foreign languages. Despite the fact that public education was still operating with a "separate but equal" formula, the federal government was willing to invest millions of dollars in education to upgrade education programs. Yet, federal

dollars did very little to improve education in black neighborhoods or to further expedite desegregation at this time (Bullock, 1967; Weinberg, 1979). Improved education programs largely benefited the white student population by motivating them to be more self-confident, competent, and competitive. Thus, this international competitive theory further divided the national spirit for interracial harmony.

It wasn't until the 60's that an initial attempt was made to collect some empirical data to ascertain whether or not desegregation was closing achievement gaps between black and white students. An earlier study by Katzenmeyer (1962) was interested in ascertaining if social interactions had any effects on the achievement between black and white students. The study concluded significant achievement changes with blacks. He further concluded that school experiences do enhance opportunities for social interaction between racial groups. Again, racial and social interaction theory was viewed in terms of achievement for blacks.

The failure to integrate an educational program that would enhance the achievement of blacks was not a part of the original desegregation plans. Therefore, during the early 60's, social scientists primarily focused on understanding the dynamics of the social movements and changes that emerged from the civil rights movement (Moore, 1963; Sorokin, 1967; Zaltman, 1973). The need to balance racial programs with quality programs did not receive full attention until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968 was

passed by Congress. More efforts were made to possibly eliminate educational differences. Because the federal government created and financed a large number of compensatory educational programs, it could terminate program funds from schools that continued to remain segregated. The magnitude of this federal effort was observed as more segregated schools became desegregated. By 1968, 32 percent of black students in the South were attending schools with whites, compared to the 1.2 percent in 1964 (Rist, 1979). What the federal plan enunciated was not only should schools be integrated, but quality education programs should be equally shared by all students as well. Excellence in education was defined in terms of enabling all Americans to have access to quality educational programs facilitated by the government. The underlying assumption was available resources would enhance program efforts for achievement.

With this emphasis on quality and equality in education, educational research studies began to shift their focus on ability and achievement in various classroom settings. A plethora of the studies during the mid-60's examined racial achievement and ability differences in various social school settings. For example, Lockwood (1966) compared black achievement differences in racially balanced and imbalanced schools. Although there was no significant difference, when she compared those students who had attended racially balanced schools for two years or

more, there were significant achievement score differences. Students who attended racially balanced schools did academically better than those students at racially imbalanced schools. Similar conclusions were later found with studies conducted by Crain and Mahard (1978) and Wilson (1979). Conversely, however, studies by Jencks et al. (1972), St John (1975), and Weinberg (1975) have presented a literature squabble as to the positive impact that desegregation has on the education achievement of blacks.

The vast empirical differences do not account for persistent trends with segregated schools in America. Yet, the long-term academic effects of blacks receiving the educational opportunities have been statistically reported. For instance, an extensive study conducted by Coleman, et al. (1966) showed black students who had begun their education in integrated schools for the first five years had higher achievement scores than those in segregated schools. His data further revealed the ratio of white to black students affected academic performances of black students. When black students received instruction in a predominantly white school, the academic performance improved. Other statistical data show that a large percentage of minorities and disadvantaged students were able to escape low socioeconomical backgrounds with increased educational opportunities (English & Settle, 1976). By 1978, blacks represented 10.4 percent of all full-time undergraduate

students, compared to the 6.8 percent in 1970. More than likely, these were black students who had come through the school desegregation era. Further statistical evidence shows by 1979, 7.9 percent of the population with four or more college years was black, compared to the 4.5 percent reported in 1970 (Bureau of Census, 1982). Marginal differences between blacks and whites with the same average number of years of schooling were reported in 1982 (Bureau of Census, 1984).

DID THE SUBURBAN MOVEMENT OF THE 70's IMPACT DESEGREGATION PLANS?

Purportedly, Coleman's (1966) school desegregation report strongly emphasized the importance of the social context for academic achievement for blacks. Subsequently, to expedite school desegregation plans, school busing was legislated. School busing for desegregated purposes was met with much opposition and resistance by whites, as well as a few blacks. In many metropolitan cities, busing was ensued with hostility and protest (Rossell, 1975; Wurdock, 1981).

In a retaliatory response, a large percentage of urban whites migrated to suburban areas. For the last fifteen years, demographic trends have been showing this suburban transition and growth patterns. Between 1960 and 1980, the white population in suburbs increased as much as 11.5 percent, while the urban white population decreased 23 percent. The demographic literature not only shows a population shift, but persistent residential class and race

resegregated patterns as well (Schneider & Logan, 1981, 1982; Stearns & Logan, 1986). During the 60's these segregated patterns were within cities (Guest, 1978). Now they exist across communities (Stahura, 1982; Liechter, 1985; Marshall & Lewis, 1986; Wilson, 1986). While suburban communities largely attract a white middle and upper-class population, urban communities are left with a racial, ethnic, and low-income population. In effect, the school population in these communities have a similar racial and social class composition which further produces racial and social class isolations between communities. According to a 1975 Civil Rights Report (U. S. Commission on Civil Rights), more than three-quarters of the black students in the 26 largest cities attended schools that were 90-100% minority. Similarly, larger percentages of white students in suburban areas were found attending 90-100% white schools. Cardenas & First (1985) reported 63 percent of school children in America are still attending predominantly minority schools.

In many metropolitan areas, school desegregation plans have either failed to include suburban schools or the inclusion has been delayed. As a result, desegregation has remained incomplete for over three decades, because it has failed to see the significance of adding newly annexed schools that were not a part of original desegregation plans. In one case, (Milwiken versus Bradley, 1974), the U. S. Supreme Court simply ruled against busing students between city and suburban school districts. Although this

decision did not necessarily curtail desegregation efforts in other school districts, the decision strongly influenced the decisions of lower courts. With the courts and federal government having a powerful impact on the present and future directions of desegregation intents, the implications and consequences have subsequently evoked a stratified suburban autonomy. Thus, the dissimilarities between communities can readily be explained by examining the opportunity and mobility path structures of the family, community, industrial business, and educational systems. Suburban and urban differences with status, affluency, lifestyle, education, employment opportunities, and cultures have been extensively documented (Farley, 1964; Taeuber & Taeuber, 1964; Lichter et al., 1986; Wilson, 1986). Although there is hardly any literature to support comparative differences between urban and suburban schools and students, the conjectural is there are probably differential educational outcomes and attainments.

QUALITY OR EQUALITY EDUCATION? (WHAT EFFECTIVE SCHOOL RESEARCH DOESN'T SAY)

In an era of "excellence in education," there is a growing concern that quality education is not proportionately distributed to all Americans (Rossell, 1980; The College Board, 1985; Darling-Hammond, 1985; American Council on Education, 1986). Inequality models illustrate minorities and low-income students no longer have access to the socioeconomical and educational opportunities as whites.

Boudon (1973) contends that both educational and social structures are determined by exogenous factors. In other words, opportunities have to be available to be equal. Reduced federal educational fundings and the termination of the federal role in education is viewed as having adverse implications for minority and low-income students. Educational programs that once facilitated these groups in making great educational and socioeconomic strides have been terminated. What is reflecting is a skewed economical and educational distribution curve. While 32 percent of the black high school graduate (18-24 years old) entered college in 1975, the percentage rate dropped to approximately 27 percent during the last ten years. Moreover, figures show the percentage of blacks enrolled in institutions of higher education has decreased (10%) in the last four years (Bureau of Census, 1986). Blacks also received fewer bachelor's and master's degrees in 1984 than in 1978 (American Council on Education, 1986). While 4 or more years of college for whites seems to be increasing (25.1% in 1986), postsecondary attainments are decreasing for blacks (13% in 1986) (Educational Statistics, 1987). The median income for black families was 56 percent of that of white families, while 33.8 percent of black families was below the poverty level in 1984 (Bureau of Census, 1985). By December, 1987, the unemployment rate for blacks was 11.4 percent, compared to the 4.6 percent that of whites (Bureau of Labor, 1988).

What has been unequivocally articulated is the major emphasis has shifted to quality education, rather than quality and equality. The peripheral assumption is that only excellence should be rewarded. The underlying assumption is only ability and achievement levels should be assessed to determine access. Of course, it cannot be overlooked that I. Q. measurements that determine ability has been a perennial debate in education. Nevertheless, what is being articulated is if principals, teachers, and students excel with high educational attainments, they should be financially rewarded. High-achieving students have access to postsecondary attainments, if they can afford the astronomical tuition costs. As a result, high-paying occupations can be eventuated from postsecondary attainments.

This meritocratic approach with excellence has prompt much of the research to examine and identify what makes schools effective. School effectiveness research studies have been very useful in identifying exemplary effective schools, as well as what makes them effective (Eubanks & Levine, 1983; Goodlad, 1983; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Ravitch, 1984; McCormack-Larkin, 1985). The effective school model basically has five interrelating components that function to promote excellence: (1) effective principal, (2) effective teachers, (3) high-achieving and motivating students, (4) parental support, and (5) community partnership and support.

The measurements of these input variables are found to be highly related with student achievement.

The body of literature on school administrators asserts effective principals tend to have strong leadership and instructional-role skills. They create and maintain a stimulating, learning, and supportive school environment for both teachers and students. Parenthetically, effective principals have high expectations of their teachers and students (Blumberg & Greenfield, 1980; Little, 1982; Manassee, 1985; Rutherford, 1985; Andrew & Soder, 1987). These principals also have effective teachers. Research on effective teaching focuses on the instructional behaviors that influence student learning. Effective teachers tend to employ a variety of teaching methods, especially with different students. These teachers also create and maintain a motivating and classroom learning environment. Purportedly, they have high-achieving students, because these effective teachers have high expectations of their students (Brophy & Good, 1974; Good, Biddle, & Brophy 1975; Evertson et al., 1980; Rosenshine & Stevens, 1984; Cruickshank, 1986). Recursively, these teachers also have effective principals.

Some of the literature on student achievement report that students who are highly motivated and who have high I.Q.'s, self-esteem, confidence, and aspirations have high achievement scores (Uguroglu & Walberg, 1979; Frieze, 1980; Fraser, 1982; Hansford & Hattie, 1982; Parson, 1983; Marsh,

1984). Recursively, high achieving students have effective teachers with high expectations. In addition, these students have high SES levels and parental support and involvement (Herman & Yeh, 1983).

The fourth factor, parental support and involvement, has enabled schools and parents to collaborate and communicate about helping their children achieve. Parent involvement tends to be strongly associated with effective schools (Clark, 1983; Walberg, 1984; Cattermole & Robinson, 1985; Hoover-Dempsey et al., 1987). Similarly, community support and services tend to enable effective schools to achieve their purposes (Gray, 1984; Danzberger & Usdan, 1984).

Presumably, the dynamics of these five interrelated factors are demonstrated with specific functional behaviors that generate effective schools and student achievement. However, an exploratory review of the literature on school effects on student achievement indicates differential teaching effects with race and SES. What most of the research on effective schools does not clearly point out is whether or not the schools, resources, and teaching treatments persist with all students. As Good & Brophy (1986) observed, it is possible for a high-achieveing schooling to be identified effective in relationship to one group of students, although there may not be any effects on the remaining of the school population.

There is strong evidence from other literature findings from teacher-student relationships that SES and race are used to measure students' academic success, failure, and ability placement in classrooms (Brophy & Good, 1970; Rist, 1970; Cooper, et al., 1975; Rehberg & Rosenthal, 1978; Alexander, et al., 1978;Dusgk & Joseph, 1983; Oakes, 1986). In examining teachers' perceptions, expectations, judgements, and biases with students, they are quite often related to students' SES levels and racial differences. Teachers frequently employ differential instructional behaviors that allow high SES students to academically achieve. As a result, low-income and minority students are kept further behind, because they are perceived to be less academically than perceived high-academically students. On the other hand, Haller & Davis' (1980) & Haller (1985) study contradicts these findings.

In a study conducted by Arlington (1980), it was found that some students were not expected to have higher reading abilities than other students. Rubovits & Maehr (1973) found disparities with positive feedback and praise to black and white students. White teachers frequently praised white students more and had higher expectations of them than they had of black students. According to Jackson & Cosca (1974), the quality of educational opportunity is most affected by what happens in the school setting, the instruction, guidance, and encouragement provided to students.

Significantly, research on effective schools has made comparative examinations of schools either with similar demographic school characteristics, or with differential social, and racial compositions, or with differential academic achievers. That is, the examined schools were primarily classified as urban or inner city, predominantly white or black, high/low SES, or high/low achievers. On a relatively small scale, the differences with school inputs (principal, teachers, students, parents, community) and school processes (principal, teacher, and student behaviors) have been examined across these various types of schools (Brookover et al., 1979; Purkey & Smith, 1983; Good & Brophy, 1986). The studies have yielded some significant findings as to understanding why student achievement varies between and within schools. For example, Brookover et al. (1979) found that schools with various input resources have differential effects on student achievement because of their social climate and structure characteristics.

Whether or not these school similarities and differences will be observed between other types of schools, such as urban and suburban, is an area that has not been fully explored. What we do know, however, is most suburban communities tend to have a similar demographic status that distinctively sets them apart from urban communities. Guest (1978), Stahura (1982), and Stearns & Logan (1986) observed suburbs are highly stratified in terms of social class and

race. Thus, they have become more independent as more urban industry and business move into suburban areas.

With these emerging differences between the community, does this suggest vast differences between the schools and students? In most school districts, annexed suburban schools are not included in desegregation plans. Therefore, urban and suburban students do not have the opportunity to have social interaction with schooling experiences. Is schooling different for suburban children than what it is for urban children?

In one school district where annexed suburban schools have been excluded from original metropolitan desegregation plans, the plaintiff in Mapp versus Board of Education has been trying to convince the courts that equal education has not been achieved. In 1971 and 1973, the U. S. District Judge held that annexed suburban schools did not have to be included in the pupil-assignment of desegregation plans which have been upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court. Suburban and urban students have been attending schools in a district where desegregation litigations have lasted as long as 26 years. The plaintiff, as well as other desegregationists, have claimed that the suburban schools are allocated more revenues and resources. Effective principals and teachers are purportedly placed in suburban schools than in urban schools. Consequently, suburban students have a better opportunity for high achievement, motivation, self-esteem, self-concept, and aspirations than urban students.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MAPP VERSUS BOARD OF EDUCATION: IS IT OVER?

April 6, 1960 - November 14, 1969

Twenty-six years ago on April 6, 1960, James Mapp filed a suit against the Chattanooga Board of Education. On behalf of his children who were being bused out of his neighborhood to attend all-black elementary schools, as well as other black children, Mapp filed an injunction against the operation of a compulsory bi-racial school system that was maintaining a dual pattern of school zone lines based on race and color. Mapp also opposed the assignment of students to schools on the basis of the students' race and color. The plaintiff requested the Board to reorganize the system into a unitary non-racial school system that would also non-racially assign students.

Having admitted that a bi-racial school system was being practiced, the Chattanooga Board of Education agreed to comply with the desegregation ruling in the Brown decision. With the request to have time to further plan and implement a desegregation program for the school district, on October 21, 1960, the court directed the Board to submit the plan. After the plan was filed in December, the court disapproved the plan, and the Board was given 60 days to submit another plan.

In 1961, the District Court again rejected the Chattanooga Plan of Desegregation. An appeal was taken from this decision by defendants on the grounds that the second

Brown decision had been misconstrued. The Board argued their responsibility was to act in the good faith that was being questioned. While two appeals were pending before the Court of Appeals, the defendants continued the original plans submitted to have peaceful desegregation.

After the hearing in February, 1962, the District Court partially approved the desegregated plans. To initiate the plan, 16 elementary schools (1-3) were selected to desegregate September, 1963. Subsequently, the remaining elementary schools would be desegregated by 1964; first year of junior high in 1965 (the remaining by 1966), and the first year senior high in 1967 (the remaining by 1968). Both parties accepted this plan. However, on March 29, 1965, the plaintiffs filed a Motion for Further Relief to expedite desegregation to have the plans completed by Fall, 1965. The motion also included teacher/pupil assignments not based on race. The District Court accepted that dual zones in all grades be eliminated by Fall, 1966, but it denied the issue on faculty desegregation.

By March 29, 1967, the District Court found the issue of faculty assignment was unresolved. Since the defendant's proposal was neither accepted nor rejected, subsequent Motions for Further Relief was filed in 1968 and 1969.

November 23, 1970 - 1979

On November 23, 1970, the plaintiffs filed a Motion for Summary Judgement contending the desegregated plans had proven ineffective with accomplishing its purposes for a

unitary school system. This motion was denied in 1971, but it opened the case for evidentiary hearing.

The judge found the defendant had not complied with constitutional responsibilities. The Board subsequently filed a plan to incorporate racial gerrymandering of zones and the assignment and transportation of students, as well as faculty and supervisory personnel assignment to increase student/faculty desegregation. The District Court was willing to only accept a 30:70 racial ratio for the elementary and junior high schools with limited transportation. Only tentative approval was given to the plan at the high school. By 1972, the issue of busing surfaced. The Circuit Judge supported not appropriating funds for transportation to achieve racial balance. The U.S. District Court Judge issued a restraining order against compliance of this injunction. As the Board continued to delay the plans to eliminate all racial discrimination, Mapp and other desegregationists appealed the U. S. District Judge's order staying transportation for school desegregation.

With the population shift to the suburbs, reports showed a 31 percent loss of white students. Consequently, the demographic trend was reflected with five all-black school populations.

For 13 years, the Chattanooga Public School System was unable to fully implement desegregation plans. The number of appeals by the plaintiffs and defendants merely implied

that desegregation plans were lagging much farther behind. The appellate court's ruling in 1973 meant that a 70:30 ratio plan was to be implemented in all schools. However, not all schools were subject to the completed plans. In addition, because the school district had experienced a tremendous loss of white students, the 70:30 ratio was viewed impossible. Along with presenting an amended desegregated plan to avert more white student declines, the school system made several efforts to prepare and educate the community, faculty, administrators, staff, students, and parents about the desegregation situation and plans.

In October, 1973, the Board of Education asked for the 1971 desegregated plans be modified to discontinue further integration. However, the federal judge told city schools to implement the 1971 plan in its entirety no later than the second semester. On the other hand, some modifications of the Board's plans were approved, while some all-white annexed schools were left segregated to prevent more white student losses. The approved modification was to have 32-38% black and 62-70% white which was based on the majority of the school's population. This percentage only included schools under the court's order.

A year later (1974) after the Board asked for revisions of 1971 plans, the plaintiffs asked to have the full 1971 plan revised to include newly annexed schools. Of course, the new school desegregated plans was denied in 1976. By 1976, the court decided the full implementation was

acceptable and the Board had carried out the plans. Mapp and other plaintiffs appealed this decision, but the 6th Circuit Court upheld the school board.

After 1976, the school board made no attempts to include annexed areas or to close schools. However, by 1979 the Board began to close black schools. It was also a period that marked failure to get white students to attend black schools, especially at high schools.

1980-1986 (DECLINING YEARS OF DESEGREGATED CASE)

Twenty years after the Mapp versus Board of Education case was brought before the federal judge, some progress could be seen in schools, as well as in the community. Yet, the litigations only persisted for the next six years. The closure of black schools continued, and a majority of the bused students were blacks. While desegregationists were still dissatisfied with incomplete plans, the Attorney for the Board, Raymond Witt, Jr., was ready to terminate the exhausted case. Mapp continued to enunciate that annexed schools were recreating a dual system of predominantly white and black schools.

By March, 1986, a federal judge informed the Chattanooga Board of Education that he would consider dismissing the 26-year-old case when the ratio of black and white teachers and staff members at each school equal black-white percentages for the whole system (Kopper, Chattanooga Times, p. A1). The judge further asserted that faculty ratios were not in compliance with proposed 1971

plans. To meet this mandate, teachers either volunteered for transfer or they were assigned.

Subsequently, the plaintiffs appealed the case to add 17 suburban schools to the desegregated plan, even if the 1971 and 1973 rulings had stated the annexed schools did not have to participate in the pupil-assignment. Such rulings were supported by the U. S. Supreme Court as long as the schools have a black student population, they are not showing any signs of discrimination. Therefore, the attorney for the Board, Raymond B. Witt, Jr., filed a petition to end the 26-year-old case.

On December 10, 1986, U. S. District Judge R. Allan Edgar dismissed the 26-year-old Chattanooga School Desegregation Suit after finding the court-approved plan fully implemented with no demonstrated need to further monitor compliance with orders of the court (Moore, News-Free Press, p. A1). It was the longest litigation case in federal court history there. Although the court was satisfied that unlawful segregation in Chattanooga Public Schools no longer exists, Mapp and other plaintiffs were not. The case is expected to be appealed, because Mapp feels the waivers have been given to white students to avoid going to black schools, and the city has failed to allow inner-city students equal access to quality education (O'Reilley, Chattanooga Times).

PURPOSE OF STUDY

Three suburban schools that were annexed in the City of Chattanooga in 1974 and 1975 were not included in the Chattanooga Public School Desegregation Plans approved by the court in December 1986. The plaintiffs, who planned to appeal the final ruling of the 26-year-old case, assert that more effective principals and teachers are placed in suburban schools than urban ones. It is further asserted that these school resources, as well as the unequal funding resources, enable suburban students to be more motivated with higher self-esteem and aspirations for high educational attainments than urban students. Consequently, unequal access and opportunities to attend these schools and to have similar schooling experiences influence low educational goals.

After an initial interview with the plaintiff and the attorney for the defendant in Mapp versus Board of Education (See Appendix A & B), the study comparatively examined the socioeconomical, educational, and aspirational levels of suburban and urban students. The study also examined whether or not any significant differences existed between the groups attending two different types of schools.

DATA METHOD

Data were collected from four groups of high school students attending the Chattanooga Public Schools. Two groups represented students attending annexed suburban high schools. Whereas, one of the suburban high schools was predominantly white with a 24 percent black student

population, the other suburban high school had an all-white student population. One of the urban schools, which had been formerly predominantly white, was not predominantly black with a 13 percent white student population. The other urban school, which had always been an all-black school, had only 2 white students attending the school.

A questionnaire survey was employed to assess personal, socioeconomical, and educational data. The sampled student populations (N-111) from two annexed suburban schools were compared with the sampled student populations (N=137) from two inner-city schools. All the respondents in one annexed suburban school were white, and 23 percent of the respondents in the other annexed school were black. The two inner-city sampled groups were 82 percent and 98 percent black. More females (65%) than males (35%) were included in the sampled student populations. A majority of the total sampled groups were in the 11th (39%) and 12th (38%) with a B grade point average, (X^2 (18) = 36.8, $p < .01$).

Chi-square was employed to statistically analyze and determine significant differences. Level of significance was set at .05.

DATA RESULTS

The data findings showed several significant differences between the suburban and urban student groups. The socioeconomical background status tended to vary with significant difference. There was a significant difference between suburban and urban mother's levels of education,

(X^2 (15)=53.69, p<.001), whereas the father's level of education did not differ significantly, (X^2 (15)=20.72, p>.15). It was observed that more mothers of one suburban group (49%) had at least a four-year college degree, and more fathers (37%) of the inner-city group had the four-year college equivalence. (See Table 1). Parenthetically, other family college attainments were found with siblings. The number of college siblings were higher with inner-city groups than with suburbans.

Family income was significantly different between groups (X^2 (21)=90.06, p<.001). Table 1 also shows suburban income averages being higher ($20,000-35,000) than urban income averages ($5,000-15,000). On the other hand, suburban groups had fewer household members than urban families. Of course, this finding was consistent with other findings between urban/suburban family compositions.

When the respondents were asked if they were satisfied with their learning at the schools, there was no significant difference with satisfaction levels (X^2 (6)=10.23, p>.12). However, a large percentage (56%) of inner-city students felt their school had motivated them, compared to the 44% suburban groups.

After high school, postsecondary goals between urban and suburban students differed significantly (X^2 (15)=31.88, p<.01). Urban students' plans to work accounted for partial differences. While 63 percent of the students planned to attend college after high school, more suburban students

TABLE 1

Income and educational levels of the suburban and urban students' family background

	Suburban		Urban	
Level	N	%	N	%
Income				
Under $5,000	0	0	21	100
5,000-9,999	3	10	27	90
10,000-14,000	23	57	17	43
15,000-19,000	33	54	23	46
20,000-24,000	13	48	14	52
25,000-34,000	25	66	13	34
35,000/over	17	89	2	11
Mother's Education				
Elem./Jr. High	1	17	5	83
High School	22	26	62	74
Some College	17	33	35	67
4-Year College	19	51	18	49
Master Degree	16	73	6	27
Doctorate Degree	3	100	0	0
Professional Degree	0	0	0	0
Father's Education				
Elem./Jr. High	3	19	13	81
High School	32	35	59	65
Some College	18	35	33	65
4-Year College	16	46	19	54
Master Degree	4	40	6	60
Doctorate Degree	2	50	2	50
Professional Degree	0	0	0	0

(58%) planned to attend two-year institutions than urban students (42%) ($X^2(9)=33.74$, $p<.001$). These differential aspirations were also reflected with other educational goals. Table 2 shows the suburban groups aspired to only a bachelor degree, compared to the master and professional aspirations of the urban groups ($X^2(15)=58.87$, $p<.001$). When the respondents were asked who had been influential with their educational schooling, mothers were frequently named. However, because one suburban group felt their fathers had been more involved with their education, this accounted partially for the significant differences ($X^2(15)=52.85$, $p<.001$).

Can urban students afford college? More urban than suburban students planned to attend an affordable college based on low tuition costs ($X^2(6)=24.32$, $p<.001$). Although the majority of the prospective college groups planned to work and rely on parents for support, they anticipated receiving some type of financial aid. There was no significant difference between groups as to delaying educational plans, if no financial aid is received. Furthermore, both groups viewed college completion more important than marriage, and they were confident they would achieve their goals.

Of those students not planning to attend college, job and finances were most important to inner-city groups (77%) than for suburban groups (23%). Overall, although mothers were perceived to be influential with postsecondary plans,

TABLE 2
Suburban and urban differences with college type and aspirations

Level	Suburban N	Suburban %	Urban N	Urban %
Type of College				
	38	31	84	69
4-year	16	59	11	41
2-year	19	58	14	42
Vocational	15	58	11	42
Business				
College Aspirations				
Associate	13	65	7	34
Bachelor	29	81	7	19
Master	7	14	45	86
Doctorate	8	30	16	70
Professional	8	21	22	79

more suburban groups (85%) viewed themselves as the motivator, compared to the 15% of inner-city students.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

A dissertation study conducted by Colbert Whitaker in 1970 comparatively examined the readiness and achievement levels of black and white students in uni- and biracial elementary schools after the desegregation plans were implemented in Chattanooga. The study (Whitaker, 1972) examined approximately 430 black and white students who had entered first grade in elementary schools in 1966-67. Over a period of five years, the results were comparatively examined.

The study reported white students, regardless of attendance at all-white or desegregated schools, achieved exceedingly higher than blacks in uni-racial or biracial school settings. The vast readiness and achievement differences were attributed to the high socioeconomical and educational status of white parents. These findings were consistent with other findings that SES levels are positively related to achievement and attainments. Such findings have been parallel with value and social assumptions that education and aspirations are perceived differently between classes .

However, some of the results of this study contradict this value assumption. Although more high SES students attended suburban schools, the low SES students at the

inner-city schools had higher educational values. The implication is more suburban students may have the family financial resources to attain educational goals than urban students; however, the urban students have high aspirations.

If high educational attainments are strongly related to high income and occupation for upward mobility, then high educational goals must be attained. It is well documented that youth unemployment rates are high for inner-city blacks. The urban labor market no longer offers industrial job opportunities. The few urban industrial jobs that did exist have migrated to suburbs. As a result, inner-city youths have a different opportunity and mobility structure than suburban students. Lewin-Epstein (1986) contends that the reasons why individuals are differentially successful in the labor market is they live in different places with different opportunity structures. Consequently, resegregation patterns across communities are more detrimental to urban black students than suburban white students. It can be concluded that the high SES students are apt to achieve their aspirational goals rapidly, because they not only have the finances to do so, but they are surrounded by high levels of economic activities that symbolize upward mobility as well.

The court's decision and the plaintiff's concerns with the Chattanooga Public Schools have significant implications for existing social and educational problems with black minorities. The deterioration of blacks' socioeconomical

and educational status is already quite visible. It is a prevailing myth that blacks and low SES students do not have high educational aspirations as other groups. Excellence in education cannot be achieved until the balanced formula of quality and equality has been fully implemented.

As far as the court's final desegregation ruling, hopefully it will not take another 26 years to know and understand how the impact of the decision affects the educational outcomes of the students. Hopefully, by the year 2013, the results will mirror success and achievement for all students who attended the Chattanooga Public Schools.

Currently, the court's final ruling in Mapp versus Board of Education has been appealed by the plaintiff, James R. Mapp.

Appendix A

And, or course, by the court using its "deliberate speed" allowed this to happen. Not only that but the federal government provided funds whereby many white persons could move out and escape integration who would have normally not been financially able. This is the research program with the 235 program, which had another component, and that was as they vacated these old neighborhoods where blacks began to move in, the prices of houses increased. They had $3,000 houses that could easily sell anywhere from $6,000 to $9,000, and FHA would approve these loans while blacks would have difficulties getting loans to buy a standard...a new house in an integrated neighborhood. They could get all the money they wanted for these neighborhoods that had been designed for change.

Interviewer: I'm sure you can see some fruits of desegregation, what are they?

Mr. Mapp: Oh yes, there are so many! I see a dignity among my people that was not there before. When I look at our people downtown, and I see the loss of fear. I see them on the job how they can work together, and not live in fear. I think these are some of the great things. I think there are some other things. It caused us to strive harder to get higher education. You know, I often talk about Howard, and how more Ph.D.'s have come from the students of Howard than any other school in this area--including Baylor and McCallie. So I think it was a stimulus--a negative

AN INTERVIEW WITH MR. JAMES MAPP,
THE PLAINTIFF IN MAPP VERSUS BOARD OF EDUCATION

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE
A 26-YEAR-OLD DESEGREGATION CASE: IS IT OVER?
INTERVIEW DATE: MARCH 18, 1987

Interviewer: I would like to thank you very much, Mr. Mapp, for agreeing to have this interview session with me regarding an aged-old case (desegregation case), Mapp versus Board of Education, Chattanooga, Tennessee. It is about 26 years old, so I'm interested in finding out some things--a little bit about the history of the case in trying to bring it up to where we are now.

Interviewer: When did the Mapp versus Board of Education case begin?

Mr. Mapp: 1960--As a matter of fact, February, 1960.

Interviewer: How did you become involved with the case?

Mr. Mapp: Well, at the time we had four kids in school; we had three being bused out from Orchard Knob School for half day sessions at Fifth Street, Clara Carpenter, and the school on Martin Luther King--I can't think of the name of it now (Park Place) and while in Glenwood we found there was at least one vacant classroom which meant they had some space to house these kids so we moved to get our kids a full day of education.

Interviewer: So is that the thing that initiated the case?

Mr. Mapp: This is what...Now we took our kids to Glenwood to try to enroll them. We were refused and sent to the Central Office. The Central Office refused us, because

at that time there was no Board policy that would allow our kids to be enrolled. Upon their refusal, we contacted New York and by April, we were in court.

Interviewer: Can you give us a brief historical account of the desegregation phases you went through after this time--after you tried to enroll your kids in schools...and subsequent to that?

Mr. Mapp: After we tried to enroll, we could not, because the school board would not change its policy. We went into court under Judge Dodd, Mrs. Motley, who is now judge in New York, and Mr. Avon Williams, and Attorney (local attorney) R. H. Curley represented us in this case. We were able to get a declaration by Judge Dodd that the system was indeed in violation of the Supreme Court Ruling of '54 and he extended our case to not only include students, but faculty and all other staff which made ours a little broader than many of the cases. Judge Dodd tried and Judge Wilson came on the scene. Now Judge Dodd would have moved very quickly, I think, to end the problem, but Judge Wilson came in, and he was brought in the inner circle of Chattanooga and he did not mover as quickly as Judge Dodd. As a matter of fact, I would describe him as the one who would stay within the least letter of the law and had no concern for the spirit of the law.

Interviewer: So he delayed it, Judge Wilson did.

Mr. Mapp: Right...Right. Now in '62, I believe we had our first bit of integration that was in the elementary schools.

Interviewer: Did you experience any oppositions? If so, in what way?

Mr. Mapp: Oh yes--Oh yes! The school board certainly imposed. The strange think about it is the City of Chattanooga was willing to capitulate and to integrate, but the school board hired its own attorney, which was permissible under the law, and started to litigate to fight the case--to fight the integration case, and this was our initial opposition was the school board--not the city, the major, and city officials, but the school board itself.

Interviewer: Did you receive any community support?

Mr. Mapp: Well, I guess if you can say, "Well, I'm with you" every now and then, this is the only support. It was no financial support of any kind during the case. It was paid for by the legal defense fund, NAACP, and this was the way we perceived it to be--pretty much alone there in the courtroom--very few people even coming around.

Interviewer: How would you describe your worst experience with the desegregation events and case?

Mr. Mapp: Well, there are so many--there are so very many! Of course, when you're bombed, and when you have sugar put in you car tank; when your family is threatened day and night, those are rough experiences. But I guess as it relates directly to the suit, every time we were

rebuffed--for example, the tactics that the school system used, they would start out by saying we are going to...(how did they put it?) we are going to lucidate and then we're going to access and then solve. But we seemed to never get beyond the stage of lucidation. The assessment had to all come from our side and the court, and the solution really never fully came, even though we had some slow victories.

Interviewer: So, what gave you the stimulus to stick with it despite all the oppositions you were facing?

Mr. Mapp: Well, children...We had eight children, and I wanted them to have a good education, as...I wanted their education to be equal to anybody else's, and this was, I guess the stimulus--not only my kids, but the other kids in the community. This is why we made it broad. We made it a common suit that would include the entire school system.

Interviewer: But now that all your kids are all grown, and you don't have any kids remaining; yet, you're still with it after 26 years.

Mr. Mapp: Well, for 27 years, the Court in the 27th year ended the litigation. The court essentially state the school board had complied with the amended version of the 1971 full integration plan. They based it on the fact that the 6th Circuit Court of Appeals had not overturned them in 1976 when we appealed, so this is total basis that they complied with the plan. The court never asked what progress had been made. The new court never asked any of these questions. All the court did was to decide to integrate to

set up a percentage of the...rather a percentage to meet a black and white ratio of teachers, and of meeting that, he declared the system unitary, and subsequently dismissed the suit.

Interviewer: What is you proposal, your desegregation proposal? You said that he never even inquired about the progress that's been made.

Mr. Mapp: Right. Now this is the latter stage.

Interviewer: Okay. This is the latter stage?

Mr. Mapp: Yes. This is the judge who had never really been introduced fully to the case, but when he came in, he made a decision within two years to end the litigation. I think this was one of his goal was to eliminate it, not to effectuate integration or to fully disestablish all this as past discrimination, but as to relieve the city of the burden.

Interviewer: Can you account or describe the education, communities, and race relations differences after desegregation plans were implemented?

Mr. Mapp: Yes, we had...It's interesting to go back to '54 at the time the court, Supreme Court, entered its order. At that time blacks and whites were living together--even in duplexes--all over the city. Nobody worried about living together, but as soon as we moved to integrate, then we had changes in living patterns. White people moved out, and left the core city to blacks. White people found ways and not sending their kids, by-in-large, to schools like Howard.

stimulus, rather, that compelled many young people forward, and I think that's a great thing.

Interviewer: What do you perceive to be the failures?

Mr. Mapp: The failure was that in the system itself did not recognize the real value of fully desegregating and integrating the system. They were busy looking back in the past, and I think what we see now--the decline in test scores, the inability to read and write--that all these are products of school systems that failed to grasp the opportunity to get people to live together, to work together, and to achieve together.

Interviewer: Why has the Mapp versus Board of Education case lasted so long? I know you mentioned earlier that during the latter stages the judge felt the school system had indeed complied to the earlier desegregation plans, but what do you really think is the primary reason...You have had the case appealed and appealed over and over--I understand that...?

Mr. Mapp: Well, I think this...I think a love for young people--opportunity for our people--compels one to continue. In other words, you use up your last ounce of substance to provide opportunities as opportunities, and of course, somehow I feel we were put here to be used up, and not to rust out. And whatever it takes to get a job done, this is what we give.

Interviewer: But when you look around in America, and you hear the news report about an underclass growing and the

many problems that still prevail with blacks, especially about the young black people, especially with the drug problem and with teenage pregnancy problem. Educational attainment desires are declining. We don't have as many blacks even graduating from high school, because the dropout rate is just astronomical, and blacks are not pursuing postsecondary education.

Mr. Happ: You know, this is multi-faceted in that unemployment has been steadily on the rise among the black communities since the early 70's. We perhaps peaked in terms of emancipating our youth of black males, because this is the level in which we'll have to measure the advancement of our people. We were just about to be emancipated--fully emancipated--but we had the woman's lib movement that came in as an instrument to be used by the white male to circumvent or to block and to delay and really to destroy the forward momentum of black males. Now this--and the ending of itself--meant the money was not coming into the homes. With that goes a low-esteem--it lowers the esteem of the feeling of worth that the man has. With this it created in the black woman a great concern about the black male. So here he's left alone: the white male, the white female, the black female--all looking, perhaps down at him, because he is caught--our economical. We have not used our economic might in the black community to create jobs. All we've ever done is just turn our money over once and so the black male is caught. He's caught in many ways. The Vietnam War

played a major role in getting the blacks introduced to drugs. You see--all of that--that was a horrible war and a terrific price was paid by these young men. When these men came back, they were not understood or appreciated. In other words, with every other war, you came back, you came back treated as a hero, but this war, they felt they were the enemies, and they were treated as the enemies when it came to getting jobs. So we have a twenty-year span where then the black male has been hurt severely, and naturally the fallout would be the children. See, they're recipients of what has fallen out. Now this is not by chance--not by chance. This is planned. It reached the stage now where I consider we are in a state where a type of genocide being practiced. It's not...It seems nebulous, but it's there. In other words, if you deduct and deny income while prices rise, while standard of living rises, it means you've got a troubled people. So what do you do? Many fall to the least level of resistance and say what's the use, and I think this has been the problem. The mind of our young people is still as good as ever, but the motivation to use those minds has been thwarted by all of these things they don't really understand. They don't understand what's happening. You look around, and the system looks good. It looks like it's working in your favor. Programs are being put out by the federal government that are based on the problems faced by the black community, and the monies are shifted to the white communities. So all this is combined to create all the

problems that you've mentioned there. You can't point to any one individual. It's so institutionalized that it's hard to overcome even for those who believe that the barriers should come down, but it's so institutionalized to overcome those things where we've taught ourselves to believe happiness is getting for me. You see, if I can't get it for me, it's not happiness. We haven't realized that happiness comes in doing what one ought to do. Rather, than what one likes to do, and I think all this has litigated to catch our young people.

Interviewer: Why do you feel that the Chattanooga Public School has not successfully accomplished the original desegregation plans? You mentioned at the very beginning it was the city schools who wanted to comply, and the board members stood in opposition, but at the same time, the city schools have not bothered to extend the plans to the annexed areas?

Mr. Mapp: Now, it wasn't...those who would comply were the city commissioner and the city attorney, but they pulled the city attorney off the case in '62 because they felt things should be just complied. The school board and staff did the rest. Now, what they've done is they have tried their best to satisfy the white community. Those who have moved into suburban, but the tragedy of it is that they have failed to plan a city-wide program. They failed to plan to the extend so that a child at Alton Park could move to Hixson and never lose stride. In other words, we've been

piecemeal. We haven't had the leadership. We had the poor (very poor) leadership from the standpoint of education. I don't mean integration, but education period. The idea has been to be fashionable to get federal monies, and use these federal monies to build programs. In other words, I think this is best demonstrated by the fact that at one time we were moved to build buildings for programs, and this is not educationally sound, because buildings go out-of-style very quickly. For example, Dalewood, the way it's built is a good example. If we had been putting this planning into the educational processes and to giving the kids a good basic foundation. Now another thing it did is when integration occurred, the black principal wanted to put forward his best foot--so when they asked for teachers to go over, he sent his best teachers, but we got the weaker teachers from the white community. Many of our teachers today--and I think this is hurting the system--come from Tennessee Temple. I don't think they are accredited by the Southern Association. I think I'm right there, and I don't think they are--at least I know that from a standpoint--prepared for an integrated society, because of a lack of black faculty there. Their teachers will reflect the institutions from which they came, and all of this has been bad for the children. I'll give you another example--Howard. The entire Math Department is all white, and this has been one of the failing departments. English is predominantly white, and when you look at these teachers, they lack experience.

In addition, you can look at the type of institutions from which they graduated. They are not the UTC's or UT's and schools like that, but Tennessee Temple.

Interviewer: Do you see black kids being better or worse off now than they were 26 years ago and why?

Mr. Mapp: They are better. In the first place, they feel like human beings now. They don't have to go around with their heads down. They know now they can compete with anybody. They know all they need is a chance or opportunity, and for that reason they are better. They are not better prepared for learning, because the motivation is not there. You see, many of the teachers today are meeting pay days. Whereas, a few years back, teachers were there for dedication, and pay day was incidental to their work of educating students.

Interviewer: By extending the desegregation plans to the annexed areas, which are the suburbs, what do you think will be accomplished for black and white students that differs from the present situation?

Mr. Mapp: I think we would have another like-process. I think until we reach the point where we will do city-wide planning--that we have centralized planning--where the programs are to be implemented by the principal and staff, and not formulated by them. I think we're going to have the same problem. Incidentally, we had something new on the horizon. The gentry is returning--meaning we're going to have downtown apartments (upper-middle-class apartments).

We have some. We have a change in the school of arts and sciences. We have a change at City High to accommodate the return of the gentry. If you look at Vine Street and Oak Street, this is a part of that process, and blacks are being moved into a belt. We're being belt around which means that we will be abandoned--forced to ride the bus more and take more time. Naturally, this perplexes young people, and makes the dropout rate go up, because if you miss your bus, you can't walk to school. Now they talk about the neighborhood school's concept, I think with the elementary students it's inevitable. I think we can use busing so. I think the drawback from segregation (one of the great drawbacks) was the feeling of being inferior or superior has been eliminated.

Interviewer: Do you feel that urban students in urban schools are receiving less than a quality education compared to the education that suburban students are receiving?

Mr. Napp: Yes, they are. Yes, they are, but both are being cheated. Both systems are being cheated, because rather than planning a total program, we still have the spot-type of excellence, and when you look at the testing scores, I believe there is only one school that rated above 50 in the testing program, and I believe it was Hixson, which was about 78, and the rest were...Well, it may have been one or two around 50 or 51, but that reflects the total system. We have a poor system of education.

Interviewer: Do you feel that urban students are less satisfied with their schooling with incompleted desegregation plans?

Mr. Mapp: Actually, this generation knows nothing of the plan really. As a matter of fact, they don't realize it ever existed. What they see after they've grown up is they were shortchanged, but during the years of training, they don't realize, because the history of the past has not been taught to them. Consequently, they become very frustrated when they get out of high school. This is where it really sets it, because they have not really been given a full account of history, and they are not prepared for the subtleties that are coming down. You see, the old bird discrimination is easy to understand, but the subtle type (what do we call it now?) "de facto segregation" is so much into play. It's not understood--there are no laws that would do this--but it's the practices. You see, staff--they utilize staff to create the problem. In spite of that some of these young people say they're going to overcome that, and they do. I have had some good examples even where a young lady became pregnant, but her determination was to get her a complete education, and to be sure her child did not have to fall in that trap. A young man who was so determined was almost a dropout at the 9th grade and a failure decided to go back to school.

Interviewer: Do you feel suburban schools are given more effective teachers and principals than urban schools are?

Mr. Mapp: Yes, I think if you'll look at tenure and the level of training, you'll find they are far superior. The problem teachers are shifted to the inner-city--the least prepared teachers are shifted to the inner-city. They have a number of teachers who come in certified in many areas, so they get preference. Many who could develop into very good teachers can't get into the system, because they advertise for people who are certified in several areas. That is, so you can keep schools like Lookout Valley open, so you an have several offers, because you've got teachers certified in two or three areas, and the way they do that is when they transfer men into the city, their wives are hired, and or course, these are put into the better schools, generally, and that black who does not have pull to begin with--see you've got a lot of pull from Tennessee Temple. You've got a very close connections between the mayor or between the commissioners at Highland Park School. So they get in not on the basis of their qualifications, but whom they know.

Interviewer: So, where does the case stand now?

Mr. Mapp: The case is out of court. However, we are searching to come up with ways in which the court order has been violated. For example, TVA is paying in lieu of taxes a certain amount to the city and county. This money rather than being divided between the city and county students is all going to the county. I think that's a violation. Bond monies that should have been divided on a ratio have all

gone to the county. They pretend they're paying the city back, but what they do...

Interviewer: So, you're waiting until you find sufficient grounds?

Mr. Mapp: Yes, we're working to find sufficient grounds.

Interviewer: So, you really don't have a new proposal yet?

Mr. Mapp: No, now you see, what we'll have to do--we'll have to do differently. The...Because we're having problems all over the Southeast, we have brought in an expert in education and a legal council to work with her out of the Atlanta office to cover the South, because we realize there are a lot of inequities, and we're trying to come up with a formula for correcting these inequities.

Interviewer: What do you perceive to be significant about a case as old as this one?

Mr. Mapp: I think this represents a kind of departure. I think that this means or signals a lot of termination of cases.

Interviewer: Okay. That was going to be my next question. You knew I was going to ask you whether or not this signals how other cases will be decided on in other cities and in other states? Do you feel that after you find evidence to show there are inequities in the school system that you will have a good chance?

Mr. Mapp: Yes, because of the process...

Interviewer: Do you see any similar patterns in this era with trying to fully implement the plans and with the implementation of plans after the Brown decision in 1954?

Mr. Mapp: No, there isn't. In other words, almost every where you look now, people are trying to pretend that it's over. They're trying to pretend that everything is over, and they have no obligation, and all obligations have been fulfilled. That the activities are passed, racial discrimination and segregation--they owe nothing. That's their foreparents. So you see, with this type of attitude their concern is--well, they're saying in effect does us no good--we want to move on.

Interviewer: So, I think you've just about answered the last question. It has been 34 years since the Brown decision, what progress do you feel that we have made in America?

Mr. Mapp: Now, from the standpoint--we've made great progress, because when you look back at segregation and all its tenants, how it really affected us as a people. How we could be misused and not have help; how we had many areas of country to step off the sidewalks to let the white females pass. When you could be in a foundry working, and a man could come and say, "Well, we're going to give you boys (meaning blacks) 3 cents on the hour." When you can now push to become mayors and commissioners. See, we couldn't do that 34 years ago, but now you can go into any store and try on a hat. See, 34 years ago that wasn't allowed in

Birmingham or Atlanta, and other places. See, when you look at it, it's been well worth the effort, because we now feel equal. We're not treated equal, but we feel equal, and with that type of attitude we are going to overcome. And every chance we get, I think this is why they selected former Governor Alexander, because the competition for these positions have well-prepared blacks who have any qualifications against whites...And I think this is why they got around from advertising for those positions, because we have too many blacks standing there and needing an opportunity with excellent qualifications.

Interviewer: You've been with it from the beginning and looking back as you reflect and see the young people coming along now who are trying to accomplish some things...and knowing the struggle is still there, because there are...What would you say to young people who are trying to achieve?

Mr. Mapp: Well, I would say this. We live, in spite of all its problems, in one of the greatest countries in the world. Certainly, I know there are many obstacles, but they can be overcome. You may have to work a little harder at it, but it can be done. You know there is a great beauty when you have to work hard for something, and finally achieve it. That's most beautiful and most gratifying and satisfying. So my idea is to go and get it. You can make it.

Interviewer: Thank you, Mr. Mapp. Do you have any other comments that you would like to leave with me?

Appendix B

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW WITH RAYMOND B. WITT, JR.,
ATTORNEY FOR CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN
MAPP VERSUS BOARD OF EDUCATION, CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

January 6, 1987

A month after the U. S. District Court handed down its final ruling to terminate the 26-year-old desegregation case, Mapp versus Board of Education, an interview was conducted with the attorney for the city schools, Raymond B. Witt, Jr. A summary of his comments are as follow:

Attorney Witt stated that the case began in 1955. The Board had a commitment to comply with the court; therefore, an elucidated phase was enacted for the community to understand that zones for the schooling system had to be complied with.

There was a lawsuit filed in 1960, so the first three grades (1-3) were the selected schools for initial desegregation for 1962. The court and Board felt this would meet the compliance.

1971 - After the Swann case, the results led to affirmative action which resulted in using students based on race, not in years.

Mistake made - (Neutral Zone) Blacks moved up economically, morally, and spiritually, but it was still not enough. According to Attorney Witt, it could have been because the schools were dragging their feet. Consequently, many blacks felt progress had stopped.

There was no problem in schools until 1969. As a result, many curfews were set forth. There were 18-20% blacks at Brainerd High School during the 1969 year.

1974 - Students were paired and bused to achieve maximum desegregation. This was implemented January, 1974, which included the racial balance phase.

1979 - While defending this case for the city, Attorney Witt defended a "Rebel Flag Case" which led to bitterness on both sides with the case.

1985-86 - A hearing of the case was held in 1985, and the decision by the Judge was made, completed, and dismissed March, 1986. Judge Wilson's decision was upheld by U. S. Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court.

Witt: Status is now 27 years old and it has been done with approval and direction of Federal District Court. What else can be done?

NOTE: Attorney Witt has been writing a book for 25 years on this matter. The book is entitled <u>You'll Never Understand By Listening</u>.

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